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DYNAMICS OF OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS PROJECTIONS: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE*

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INTRODUCTION

Last year when I presented a paper providing a synthetic overview of research on status projections of rural youth before this research group, I came away from our discussions with the feeling that we were starting a process of self-evaluation of our research efforts that would have long-term beneficial results. A definite current of opinion existed among the participants that by and large the rural sociologists' research efforts pertaining to occupational and educational behavior were too narrowly focused on aspirations-expectations and the personality or individual attributes associated with these phenomena. I remember well discussions with at least three individual researchers (Art Cosby, Fern Willits, and Lee Taylor). They challenged me on our lack of concern with social structures and, derivitively I suppose, the manner in which patterns of social organization effect status projections and actual status mobility. At the time, I somewhat resented their focusing their displeasure upon me -- as if I were responsible for the long-standing predominant trends in rural sociological research in this problem area simply because I had attempted to discern these and report them. Upon reflection, however, I reached the conclusion that this line of critical evaluation is, on balance, correct and due, to no small extent, to the lack of our use of a broad theoretical frame of reference grounded in the general orientations of Sociology. I will say more about this later.

While I would like very much to have provided in this paper the set of general orientations, the conceptual aparatus, the simple theoretical propositions, and a complex integrated system of these things required for a broad theoretical statement relating status projections to antecedent and subsequent psychic and social phenomena -- and this should be our goal for the long haul -- limitations

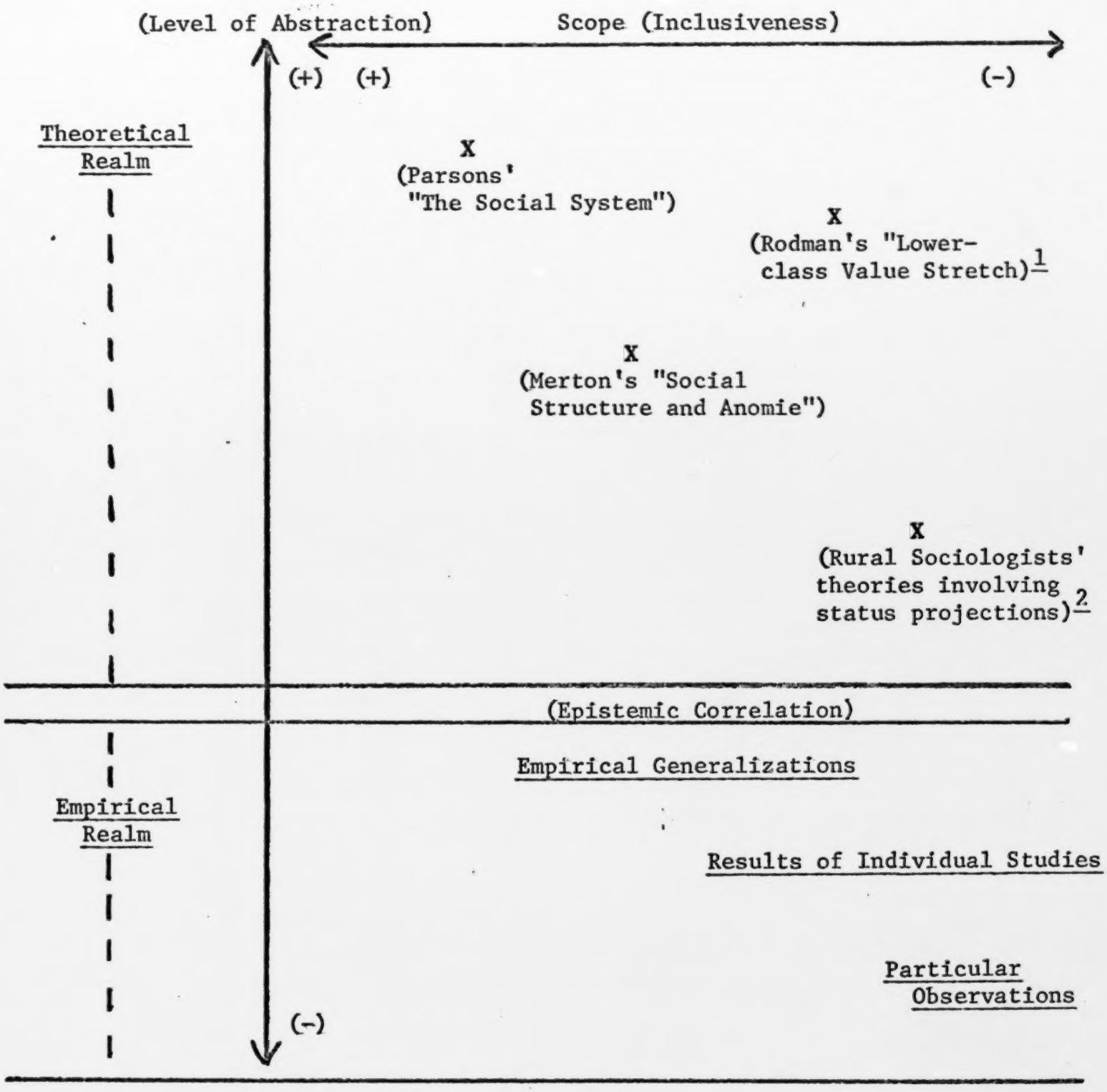
of my own and of the body of knowledge that exist makes this impossible at this time. I see this paper as an opportunity for me to make an initial effort toward the ambitious goal outlined above and, hopefully, as a way of interesting other rural sociologists in striving for it more directly. This paper represents another small step in my continuing effort to conceptually order and synthesize our current knowledge about status projections of rural youth. More specifically, this paper will consist of my attempt to integrate two general papers I previously developed on status projections -- the first, a conceptual and theoretical effort (Kuvlesky, 1966); and the second, an attempted synthesis of research efforts in this problem area (Kuvlesky, 1969).

THEORY AND RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS

In a recent publication, Archie Haller wrote, "We do not have a valid theory to explain and predict what occupation a person will enter; we may never have." (Haller and Miller, 1963). In all probability, he would be willing to extend this judgement to include the prediction of mobility in terms of other status areas, i.e. education, political office, and place of residence. While I am not nearly as pessimistic about the potential for the development of such a theory as Haller, it is clear that no such inclusive and general theoretical statement exists at this time. If we presume, as I do, that such a theory is desirable, it will require our willingness to reach beyond the traditional narrow research foci we have belabored over the past several decades, to reach beyond the boundaries of our own particular discipline in order to utilize the ideas and research results of others, and to consciously and explicitly attempt to conceive our research efforts in the context of broader theoretical frames of reference. There is little question that most of us can be found lacking in the extent to which we have attempted to meet these needs.

Although a number of theoretical statements at various levels of abstraction relevant to aspirations and expectations were developed before and during the accumulation of the substantial body of research knowledge existing now, few reports of research involving this phenomena as pertains to rural youth have evolved from or been related to the mainstream of sociological theory, or any other kind of general theory. While Merton's (1957) provocative middle range theory of "Social Structure and Anomie" has been in existence for over a decade and contains the idea of status aspirations as a critical element, it has hardly been mentioned by rural sociologists. Other theories having potential utility -- developmental theories of Roe (1964) and Holland (1966), and the more abstract theories of Talcott Parsons (1964) -- have received little or no attention from rural sociologists researching this problem. As I noted in my "Synthesis" paper last year, there are noteworthy exceptions to this general judgement among the works of Rural Sociologists; however, even in these cases, the theoretical propositions utilized were at a very low level of abstraction, lacking in connections with more inclusive statements at successively higher levels of abstraction, and very often evolved as ex post facto interpretations of research results rather than as hypotheses directing research formulation, Diagram 1. Consequently, our research efforts have contributed very little to the direct testing and development of more abstract theoretical systems. If one views our research contributions in the context of the categories of efforts and accomplishments that Merton (1957) accuses sociologists of trying to pass off as theory, one will find that, by and large, our efforts consist of ex post facto interpretations, conceptual specifications, and empirical generalizations rather than sociological theory per se.

Diagram 1. Dimensions of Theory and Attributes of Rural Sociologists' "Theories" of Status Projections and Social Mobility.



1 See Rodman (1963).

2 For an example, see any of the reports cited in Kuvlesky and Pelham (1966).

As I have indicated in Diagram 1, extant theoretical propositions of Rural Sociologists relative to this problem area are generally very limited in scope and in level of abstraction. For instance, most of our work in this area revolves around the limited ideas of occupational or educational aspirations (or expectations) -- often viewed separately -- rather than being concerned with the more abstract ideas of "achievement syndrome", "success ethos", "achievement orientations", or "status projections". We tend to view each projection of attained status in a particular status area as an individual phenomenon rather than as one specification of a more inclusive set of phenomena. My use of the term status projection was deliberately developed to serve this need to move to a higher level of abstraction by subsuming both aspirations and expectations directed at any area of potential status attainment. Obviously, a similar problem exists in our orientation toward the idea of values as demonstrated in the work of Schwarzweller (1959). In reference to inclusiveness, I think a number of examples could be given, but two of these are of particular import in pointing out areas of possible development and significant contribution: the tendency to assume that achieved status rank makes up the most important social objectives of youth and to focus narrowly on only occupational and educational rank within the aspirational frames of reference of youth and; the tendency toward nominalism -- focusing on individual attributes as antecedents of these status projections while largely ignoring structural considerations, except for size of place of residence. The two attributes of theory mentioned -- level of abstraction and scope -- are not unrelated: as one moves to be more inclusive in theoretical formulations, there is a need to evolve a higher level of abstraction in concepts. In the past few years I have noted a trend for more concern with broadening scope, and I predict this will lead us to develop and use concepts of a more abstract nature.

Of course it can be argued that theory development in and of itself is of little value, and for science this is true of theory that is not established in reference to empirical observation or intended for empirical evaluation. At the same time, the lack of our concern with general theory has led to eclectic research efforts lacking in cumulative efficiency and predictive power. What is more, this lack helps to explain our neglect of variables dealing with social organization and social structures.

No one has ever accused me of being an armchair theorist; however, I am prepared to accept such a reaction to this effort for I intend to run free of my usual empirical schackles in this paper. The remainder of this paper will be given to the development of an outline of a theoretical sketch of the dynamics of status projections. I do not pretend that this is either a theoretical system or that the sketch is refined. It is simply an attempt to start rationally structuring an array of ideas that have been shown or postulated to be related to status projections as antecedents or consequences.

GENERAL ORIENTATIONS AND BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The Backdrop of Social Processes

Any area of scientific investigation involves a certain number of presuppositions about reality and assumptions about the nature of the phenomena under scrutiny. The problem area of status projections is no exception. Our concern with status projections involves us in two key social processes when viewed in the context of a social system frame of reference -- socialization and recruitment, or role allocation (Parsons, 1951; Loomis, 1960). Socialization has served as the backdrop for most of the work of rural sociologists because their predominant emphasis has been on understanding how differentials in aspirations, expectations, and related personality attributes are produced.* While socialization as a process is primarily concerned with transmission of culture to individuals and development of a social self, recruitment involves the operations of structures that determine the opportunities available to the individual for actual entrance into a particular status or status sequence. Recruitment is to some extent dependent upon a number of considerations, independent of particular individuals, that influence availability of particular types of positions in the social system. In terms of at least occupation and education, this availability is influenced by such things as the nature and complexity of the division of labor and the economy, the number, quality, and variety of educational systems in existence, and the role of government in providing facilitation for training, guidance, and status placement of individuals. On the other hand, the recruitment process also involves considerations related specifically to attributes of the individual, many of these can be viewed as criteria of rank determination (i.e., race, sex, initial social class location, and I.Q.), including the results of earlier socialization such as beliefs, manners, and orientation toward achievement. In short, socialization as a process explains the development of status projections among classes of individuals and is combined with the process of recruitment to provide an understanding of how people

* See Turner (1964)

choose or are placed in categories of social positions existing in a presumed hierarchy of social strata. The general sociological orientation described above is demonstrated in a number of ellaborate and detailed theoretical statements (Ginzberg, et.al., 1951; Blau, et.al., 1956; Merton, 1957; Parsons, 1964; and Kahl, 1953). The psychologically oriented theory of vocational choice developed by Holland (1966) rests on the construct of "personality types" and the assertion that vocational behavior is an expression of these personality types. Holland's thesis introduces an additional dimension of potential explanatory variables into the development of any inclusive general theory of social mobility involving occupational attainment and needs to be tied into the sociological perspective previously described.

Basic Assumptions

Given this general sociological orientation, there are certain other basic presuppositions or assumptions that sociologists tend to make in dealing with the phenomena under consideration. Several of the more important of these are listed as follows:

(1) The sociologist's basic interest in status projections is in utilizing these phenomena as a means of understanding vertical social mobility. This leads to a marked tendency to concentrate attention only on the rank element of social positions (statuses). Yet, it seems quite clear that people can and probably do orient themselves toward other attributes of social positions (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966).

(2) It is presumed that individuals consciously orient themselves toward the future and cognitively structure their future social involvements.

(3) Given the presumed future orientation, it is further assumed that people are predominantly rational in developing logical alignments among various status projections, in the modification of these in terms of perceived reality factors, and in the relationship that exist between status projections and actual attainment.

(4) It is generally assumed that status projections represent mediating

variables -- they evolve out of the socialization process and provide direction for future status placement by triggering appropriate anticipatory socialization (Lane and Ellis, 1968).

(5) The formation of status projections and their change over time is viewed as an evolutionary process consisting of several differentiated stages.

I think it is time we explicitly acknowledged these basic assumptions so that we may begin to carefully examine how they might be restricting and directing our theoretical and research thrusts. I don't claim this to be an exhaustive list and would appreciate suggestions from others about possible additions to it. .

THE FOCAL POINT: STATUS PROJECTIONS

Most of you are familiar with the conceptual apparatus I have been utilizing in the study of youth's orientations toward future status attainment, and if you are not, the conceptual distinctions involved are spelled out in several publications (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966; Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968; Kuvlesky and Pelham, 1966). Essentially the key analytical distinctions are of two kinds. First, that two types of projections exist -- one involving desire (aspiration) and the other anticipation of attainment (expectation). Secondly, each of these projections consist of two dimensions -- the status element (object of orientation -- usually indicated by rank-levels) and strength of orientation (intensity of desire and certainty of expectation). I have assumed that generally aspirations are shaped first and that expectations evolve as modifications of aspirations due to perceived limitations, blockages, or strong directive pressures. Furthermore, I have contended that the relationship of aspiration and expectation, when they diverge, is an analytically separable element representing degree of modification of aspirations, and coined the term "anticipatory goal deflection" to represent this potential divergence.* Recently, a colleague has pointed out a third type of possible status projection involving <u>intention</u> as the quality of orientation and often referred to in the literature as "plans" (Juarez, 1968). Another colleague, in a paper to be presented at these meetings has picked up this lead and ellaborated the conceptual utility of the intention element (Oberle, 1970). In all honesty, I have not yet studied the potential of this additional type closely enough to be able to figure out how it may relate to the other two types of status projections nor have I examined extant research to see whether or not evidence exists to indicate that the distinction is made in reality and whether or not it would have research utility. Still the idea has merit, particularly for individuals demonstrating divergence between aspiration

* For a recent demonstration of the empirical potential of this idea, see Curry (1970).

and expectation -- in these cases, intention may provide a better prediction for status attainment than either aspiration or expectation used alone or some index of both (i.e., Haller's LOA instrument).

For me, status projections represent the focal point of interest in social mobility and a pivot from which I can work to relate the process of socialization to the process of social mobility. Most of the interest in status projections demonstrated by sociologists, including rural sociologists, has been in viewing them as dependent variables -- results of or derivations from other phenomena. Little research existed until very recently in which status projections were cast in the role of independent variables relative to status attainment and social mobility. Only recently has research been designed by Sewell and his colleagues at Wisconsin to run the full course of this postulated system of relationships, where status projections are conceived as mediating phenomena (Sewell, et.al., 1969).

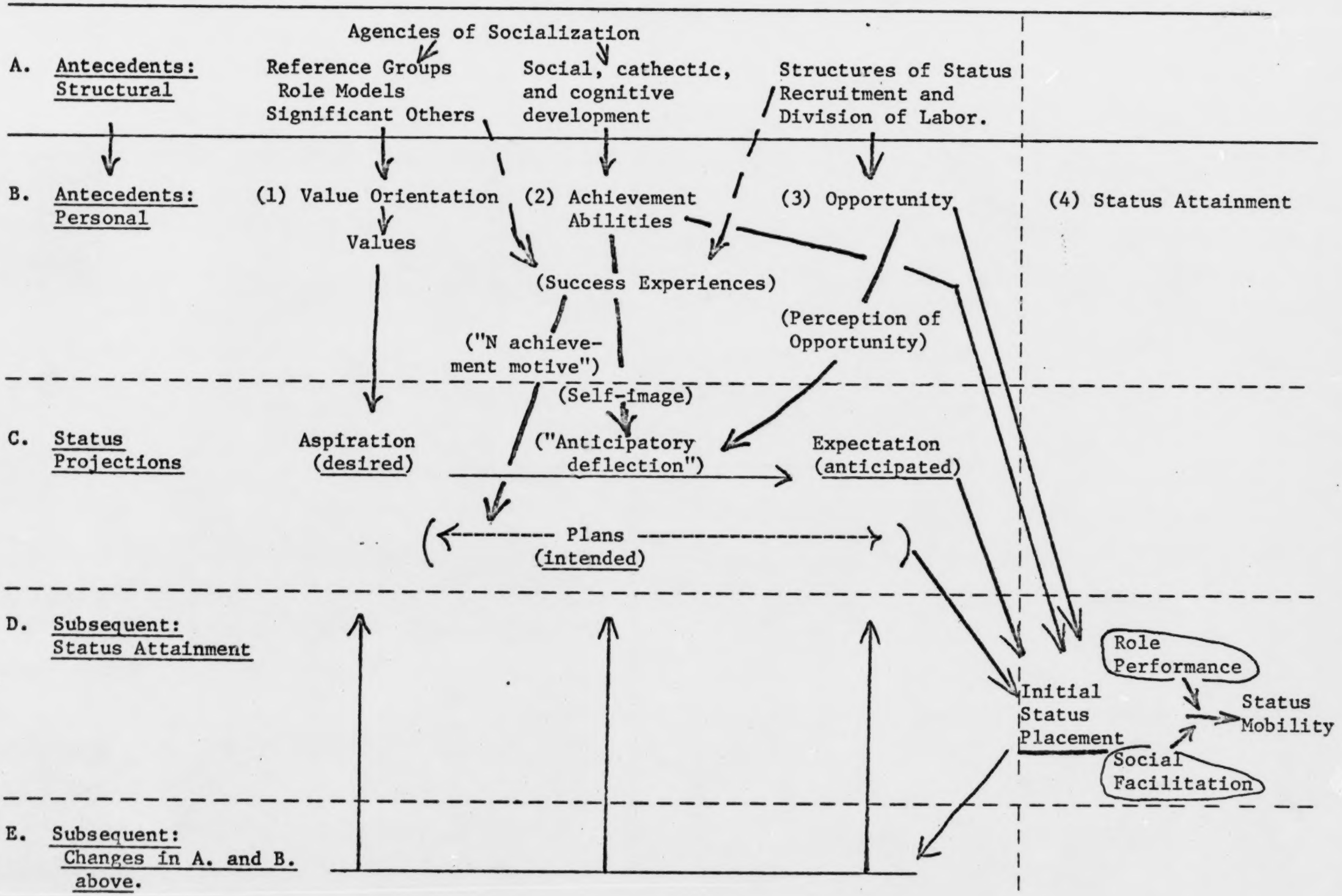
In the next portion of this paper I intend to provide a theoretical sketch that has been evolving in my mind for some time as a result of my efforts in conceptual specification and synthesis of research results in this problem area.

A THEORETICAL SKETCH: SOCIALIZATION, STATUS PROJECTIONS, AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

As I reviewed the research literature for my "Synthesis" paper, I was struck by the large number and variety of presumed antecedent variables found to have a low degree of association with occupational and educational projections, and the lack of any observed to have a very strong association with these phenomena. Of course, the ready explanation for this wide-spread phenomena of sociological research is the belief in systems of complex, multiple causation. This may well be a valid explanation in this case; however, we should not ignore the fact that other alternative explanations also exist -- inadequate or imprecise measurement, fuzzy conceptualization, and lack of conceptual integration through varying levels of abstraction. Whatever the validity of the multiple causation assertion, I think our inability to demonstrate strong associations between presumed antecedents and status projection phenomena is at least partly attributable to our failure to develop an abstract, inclusive theoretical scheme ordering chains of causal relations. I provide the outline of such a conceptual system in Diagram 2. I do not intend to attempt to elaborate, document, or specify any of the numerous causal relations and chains of these apparent in the sketch -- this would be impossible in a paper of this nature and given the time limitations I face. Empirical support for many limited segments of the scheme are observable in the results of the "Synthesis" paper (Kuvlesky, 1969). I do intend to briefly describe the sequential ordering of the scheme to bring out some points not clearly discernible in the diagram.

The scheme begins with the perspective of the young individual located within a configuration of particular interaction systems and communication networks that expose him to a particular set of social forces and conditions described in the row of Diagram 2 labelled "A" (Antecedents: Structural). The social forces operate through socialization structures to shape the social identity and awareness

Diagram 2. Paradigm of Status Projections Relative to Antecedent and Subsequent Behaviors.



of the individual. The social conditions of primary import here are the broad structural aspects of society making up the stratification system and division of labor that influence the probability for social mobility. It is presumed that differences in these structures exist within the society relative to identifiable subcultures (i.e., race, sex, ethnicity, economic class, etc.). These differences in structural configurations the individual is exposed to, and differential exposures to these among individuals of the same social categories, lead to variation at the second broad stage of the causal sequence -- those phenomena appearing in row "B" (Antecedents: Personal).

The personal antecedents of value orientation (i.e., Parsons' pattern variables), achievement abilities, and opportunity are seen as prime determinants of status projection phenomena. Their impacts are traced through more limited mediating causal chains as illustrated in the diagram.

Subject to the stabilization of the personal antecedents, status projections evolve over time as the youth matures. As was mentioned previously, it is assumed that aspirations evolve first as specifications of values. At any given time, anticipatory deflection is problematic and depends upon the influence of the individual's self-image and perception of opportunity for attainment. Theoretically, then, frequency and magnitude of anticipatory deflection would vary inversely with positive measures of relevant self-images and perception of opportunity. The third possible type of status projection discussed previously, plans, is conceptualized as a modification of both the other types, as a consequence of level of "*n* achievement motive" (McClelland, 1961). The orientation elements that I have conceptualized as part of the status projections (intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation) are not depicted in the sketch -- I thought the diagram was complex enough without these additional complications; however, I do think that the intensity of desire associated with

aspiration is probably related to the more general psychological need for achievement represented by McClelland's achievement motive. In a similar fashion, I think the degree of certainty associated with expectation is influenced by the positive-negative aspects of appropriate self-images and levels of opportunity perceived to exist.

As the individual approaches adulthood, his status projections serve to select out particular social locations and configurations of multiple locations (viewed as projected status-sets). This then provides the possibility for conscious or unconscious triggering of the process referred to as anticipatory socialization, which provides for transition in status progression. This leads us to a consideration of social mobility per se as indicated by row "D" and column 4 in the diagram. Once the individual enters the labor force on a more or less permanent basis, the potential for the process of intragenerational social mobility begins. At this point the whole configuration of operations depicted in the sketch operate simultaneously -- this will be discussed in more detail later. The arrows converging on the cell at the intersection of column "D" and row 4 indicate the hypothesized mix of forces operating to influence subsequent status mobility. Status projections are hypothesized to direct initial status placement and influence social mobility, but only given appropriate levels of achievement abilities and available opportunity. Once initial status placement occurs, primarily in reference to occupation, role performance and social facilitation enter in as additional considerations in influencing the degree of vertical mobility experienced by the individual. The row labelled "E" represents the proposition that actual status attainment experiences influence the nature of the antecedent structural properties (depicted in row "A") and, through the sequential change of causation previously described, eventually influence the nature of status projections. From this point on, the

processes of status attainment and that of status projection development are posited to evolve simultaneously in mutual reciprocal interaction -- I will elaborate on this idea in more detail later.

Although the sociologists' primary interest in subsequent behavior related to status projections has been in their presumed influence on actual status attainment, Merton has pointed to others in his conception of adaptive mechanisms involved in his theory of "social structure and anomie." I have suggested that aspirations and expectations may have other important consequences when viewed in relation to each other and in relation to actual attainments. Presumably I could have incorporated these proposed relationships within Diagram 2, but for purposes of simplifying the presentation, I have presented them separately in Diagram 3. Briefly, this diagramatic representation is meant to indicate that divergence between aspiration and expectation, on the one hand, and between each of these and actual attainment, on the other, increase the probability of disruptive personality and social adaptations. I have no idea of how much any of these postulated relationships influence the probability of such disruptive behavior; however, it would seem reasonable to predict that failure to attain expectations would have the most telling effect. Of course, differentials in such subsequent behavior would be influenced to some extent by such considerations as intensity of aspiration, degree of certainty of expected attainment, and level of valuation of the status object in question relative to other desired ends. Obviously these ideas represent a host of potential hypotheses worthy of empirical test -- little empirical evidence exists at this time to serve as a basis for further refinement and specification of this set of relationships.

The sketch just outlined represents a restricted and simplified picture of the actual reality we desire to describe and explain. In the first place, it deliberately excludes potentially useful inputs of a physiological or psycho-

Diagram 3. Potential Subsequent Behavioral Results of Incongruencies Between Status Aspirations, Expectations, and Attainments.

A - B =
A - C = } Cognitive Dissonance, Negative Self-image, Felt Social Deprivation*
B - C =

*Presuming incongruencies among status projection and attainment elements, rate of occurrence and magnitude of these attrubutes would likely vary by intensity of aspiration and/or certainty of expectation.

logical nature that might be obtained from other frames of reference (Holland, 1966). In addition, it ignores the idea, originated by Merton (1957) and later documented in our work (Kuvlesky and Upham, 1967; Pelham, 1969), that status projections exist for individuals in more or less integrated sets (status-sets) that are ordered in a hierarchy of importance. The sketch provided here does not take this complication into consideration and, as a consequence, ignores the influence that different kinds of status projections have on each other, and the influence of this interaction on attainment of different kinds of social status. In short, much effort will be required to refine and expand the present sketch.

AGE STATUS PROGRESSION AND DYNAMICS OF STATUS PROJECTIONS -- OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

I will now move to a lower level of abstraction in order to focus specifically on the dynamics of occupational status projections as related to changes in age status through time. I have selected the status area of occupation because it has received the most theoretical and empirical attention in the past, and because I can rely on a previous statement I developed (Kuvlesky, 1966). While I feel that the propositions inherent in the following statement on the dynamics of occupational status projections will generally carry over to other closely related types of status projections (i.e., achieved type statuses such as education and income), I am also sure that these will not prove valid for other status areas not directly involved as criteria for social ranking (i.e., such status areas as marriage and family, place of residence, and religion).

By and large, researchers in general and rural sociologists in particular have focused most of their attention on status projections of adolescents and, to a lesser extent, younger children. Few have made attempts to conceptualize the interdependent and simultaneous development of occupational orientations and occupational attainment from late adolescence through the age graded statuses of adulthood. While it is a fact that several researchers have attempted to study the relationship existing between adolescent projections of status and subsequent attainments during young adulthood, very little research exists on the occupational aspirations and expectations of adults; consequently, there isn't much in the way of an empirical base to work from in attempting to develop a theoretical statement regarding dynamics of occupational status projections relative to actual attainments. If we are to ever obtain a clear understanding of intrageneration social mobility, it is time to begin conceptualizing these variable relationships on through adulthood.

As was pointed out earlier, most theorists have assumed that the occupational placement process, and derivatively, the development of occupational status projections, is evolutionary in nature. A number of models have been developed to describe the various stages of transition involved in these processes, but most of these models focus primarily on the development of "occupational choice" (occupational status projections) prior to full-time entrance into the labor market (Ginzberg, et. al., 1951; Burchinal, et. al., 1962; and Musgrave, 1967).* In my opinion, the time has come to place predominant emphasis on the development of status projections through adulthood in relationship to actual occupational attainment. I conceive of the occupationally relevant lifespan of an individual as consisting of three broad stages, only one of which involves childhood and adolescence. These are indicated in Diagram 4 and are listed below as follows:

(1) Pre-Work stage, corresponding roughly to childhood and adolescence and ranging for most youngsters up to age 18 or 19.

(2) Work Life stage, corresponding to productive adulthood and ranging roughly from 19 to 64 years of age.

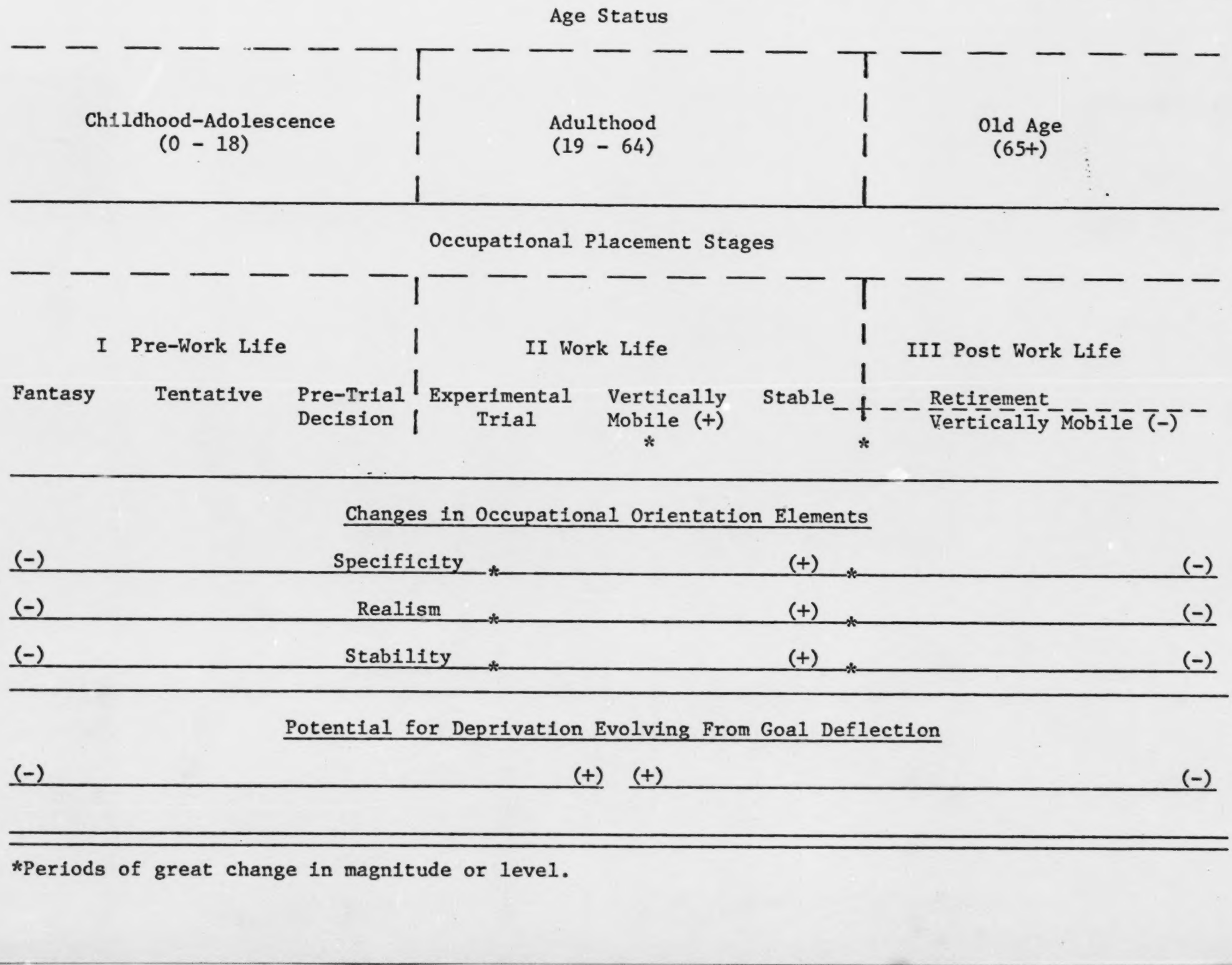
(3) Post-Work stage, corresponding to old age and retirement (65 years and over).

Pre-Work Stage

In the pre-work phase, primary concern is given to the development and maturation of occupational orientations rather than with actual work behavior. It is generally accepted that the formation of these orientations are patterned and can be thought of as proceeding through a number of developmental stages. There appear to be at least three broad phases -- (1) Fantasy, (2) Tentative, (3) Pre-Trial decision (Burchinal, et. al., 1962). The occupational projections of the individual are represented as becoming more specific, realistic, and stable as he moves from fantasy orientation to the actual point in time when he

* A rare exception to this generalization exists in a statement by Tiedeman (1961).

Diagram 4. A Longitudinal Model of the Occupational Placement Process and Its Interaction with the Development of Occupational and Educational Status Projections.



*Periods of great change in magnitude or level.

must face a decision in reference to taking a full-time occupational role. We know from substantial past research that the occupational aspirations and expectations of all kinds of youth, including rural ones, are high during adolescence relative to opportunities available. While we have supposed in the past that aspirations become more "realistic" (lower) with increased maturation and that they logically should become more congruent with expectations -- decreasing anticipatory goal deflection -- recent evidence brings these propositions into question.

. Recent evidence evolving from a USDA (CSRS) regional project (S-61) suggests that aggregate level of aspiration and expectation profiles of students as high school sophomores and later as seniors do not demonstrate much difference (Thomas and Jacob, 1970). What is more, these same investigations indicate that when changes are analyzed case by case, that considerable instability was demonstrated over the two year period of study. The most telling evidence presented by Thomas and Jacob contesting the theoretical propositions noted above was that (in their analysis of Texas data) more individuals changed the level of their aspirations upward than downward. An earlier investigation of level of specificity of occupational projections of Texas high school sophomores (Kuvlesky and Jacob, 1969) produced evidence to indicate that the majority of these youth provided occupational projections that had a high degree of specificity.

It seems quite likely that we need to revise our thinking about the timing of the introduction of realism and stability into the projected frames of status reference of individuals. As Lo Cascio (1967) has suggested, it may be that changes of this type do not occur until the individual enters the labor market for the duration. Obviously the age at which time these critical changes occur would depend on when he left school or on his projected ultimate educational attainments. Of course, the fact that some people do renounce long standing career lines for another often very different one (as described in a recent issue of Life) is clear

evidence that status projections are always open to change.

Work-Life Stage

Moving into the work-life stage of the placement process, I would expect that the trend toward rational integration of orientations would begin for most individuals. The direction that this integration takes, however, is likely to be strongly influenced by the individual's work experiences, particularly successes and failures in attempts at mobility. If we assume that both occupational orientations and occupational attainments are relatively dynamic phenomena, it seems probable that a reciprocal interdependency exists between them. While the orientations provide motivations and the triggering mechanisms for anticipatory socialization which influence job attainments, the job influences factors (i.e., reference groups, role models, self-images, perception of opportunity, etc.) that in turn have some influence on the occupational orientations.

In all probability these dynamics do not operate at even rates through the entire adult work life. If we posit three sub-stages -- (1) Trial, (2) Vertically Mobile, and (3) Stable -- it may help to conceptualize relative rates of change in orientation. The trial period represents the normal fishing around undertaken by most young adults in attempting to find a job in a setting that they consider satisfying. In all probability occupational orientations are relatively fluid at this point and may change considerably and even dramatically. Once the individual has selected, if he does, the context of his occupation and the general nature of his work role, he enters into the second sub-stage posited above. The vertically mobile period represents the vast portion of an adult's work life and probably a stabilization of orientations. This stabilization is probably attained to the greatest degree late in the individual's work life, but before he approaches retirement.

In summary, it is proposed that with increased maturation and the process of

settling into a niche in the social fabric during productive adulthood, individuals will tend to experience a greater degree of rational integration between their aspirations and expectations, on one hand, and between these and actual status attainment, on the other. Those who do not and cannot attain a relatively high level of logical integration among these elements of occupational orientation are likely to experience a high degree of frustration and, in all probability, are not undergoing effective anticipatory socialization that would prepare them for advancement in upward mobility. These propositions are obviously worth researching.

Post-Work Stage

The final stage, the post-work phase, represents primarily a problem of detachment from full enactment of occupational roles -- what we normally call retirement. This post-work stage of life may well consist of several substages not unlike the vertically mobile and trial periods of the full-work stage operating in reverse; however, to my knowledge, little research has been done on this aspect of man's occupational experience, and, therefore, I can say little about occupational projection phenomena associated with this stage. The evidence I have, however, from my interactions with and observations of individuals in this stage of life, lead me to believe that there is a substantial gap between the occupational aspirations many of these people have and their actual status or prospects for status attainment.

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